

112 YEARS AFTER ORIGIN OF THE SPECIES BY DARWIN,  
THE MISSISSIPPI SUIT, EVER LAST DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL  
A MISSISSIPPI LAW AGAINST TEACHING EVOLUTION



#### ARIES

Be very careful. A basic instability of aspects induces you to get into dangerous and depressing situations. Tuesday and Wednesday, October 13 and 14, are especially good days to be careful. You are probably experiencing a strong desire to mate with someone, but don't confuse the feeling with anything else.

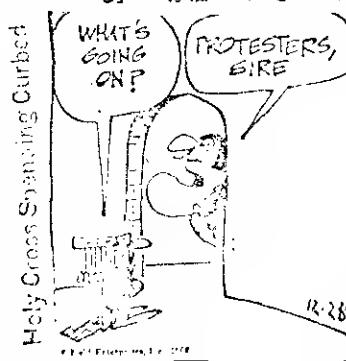
#### TAURUS

Although you are probably feeling very fucked over by this time, it is really all on the surface. There are many things going on that should alleviate any planetary discomfort. Get it on with a fellow Taurus. While you are both feeling rejected, you can do each other some good. And watch your big mouth.

#### GEMINI

Count your gold and silver coins when there's a lull in conversation. You have to draw your faith from places where you don't ordinarily look to get approval. Sex and study can put you at rest when you are aching; just be sure that anyone with whom you become involved knows that time is not on your side right now. It will be better come Christmas.

**VIRGO**  
Take care of all unfinished business while you are feeling so out-of-sorts with everything... Then it will all be clean lines to write new thoughts on. No new relationships are apt to come up for a while yet, so it looks like you're going to have to keep on fucking that old Leo and Capricorn. Avid clashes with Pisceans over the weekend.



#### MISS ZEECA IS PREGNANT

**WEST PALM BEACH**, Fla. — Sylvan Burdick, a West Palm Beach attorney, stated here he would sue the county school system for enforcing a dress code which includes a "bra test" for girls. He said that girls suspected of not wearing bras are taken before the school's dean of girls and told to jump up and down. If the dean decides there is too much "bounce" the girls are sent home.

#### Suit threatened on school 'bra test'

**URBANA**, Ill. — Officials of the University of Illinois are gluing down rocks to bar stone-throwing. The rocks, used in landscaping, have been dug up, mixed with a synthetic resin and replaced around trees and shrubs.

#### University gluing down rocks

## 62's Jail For Tearing Nixon Photo

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. (CON)

—A former Southern Illinois University professor of criminal justice has been sentenced to four months in jail and three years probation for tearing up a picture of President Nixon during an anti-war demonstration last May. In traditional Celtic - Ranger fends, religion has played a prominent part. Celts supporters are largely Catholic, while Ranger followers are Protestant.

The crowd normally segregates itself into two halves around the stadium. It was at the Rangers' end of the field that the disaster occurred.

Other assassinations then came up for discussion. "Most Presidents get shot in the head," Shaun Shepard said in an offhand way.

"Not most Presidents," Shaun," Miss Borroughs said. "A few Presidents have been killed, but not most of them." Then she mentioned Dr. King and started talking about nonviolence, only to be interrupted by the clanging of

horns, which sent the class

running to the basement

a civil defense drill.

5,000 pupils that:

BOARD YOUR HORSE  
OUT OF THE SMOG

#### Head of Baptist Foundation Out on Bail in Theft Case

## GRAUSTIARK 231

6 February 1971 Book Review

issue

I work up this morning to see our tomcat squatting over a dish of super marijuana. But I couldn't save it from a soaking.

My question: can we damage ourselves smoking peed weed?

ANSWER: My redbearded veterinary consultant says he doesn't know of any diseases which can be transmitted to humans via cat urine. But male cats often produce urine with a particularly strong lasting odor. Throw out the grass and the cat.

Dear Dr. Hip:

Can any harm come from making love in the bathtub?

Hopefully not.

Cleanie.

ANSWER: My research team plunged into action after reflecting on the habits of whales and dolphins. Brace yourself for the answer: contusions and abrasions if the tub is empty, seasickness, drowning or scalding if it's not and your inhibitions go down the drain.

QUESTION: Do LSD or other psychedelics cause memory loss?

ANSWER: I can't remember reading any such report.

Do you put bricks in your toilet tank? That's a good idea; I'm going to try that.

The Board of Education is notifying the parents

學生有時在學校犯了嚴重的過失，以致校長有上級的

真必須命令這些學生暫時停學。這是極可惋惜的，但這

方法強制使學生改變他在學校裡的態度而仍為尖端的

行為。

BOARD YOUR HORSE  
OUT OF THE SMOG

Head of Baptist Foundation

Out on Bail in Theft Case

CONSTRUCTION  
COMPANY

WAR!

Opinions

IT'S NOT THE  
PEASANTS...  
IT'S THE  
ARMY

Peace...

IT'S NOT THE  
PEASANTS...  
IT'S THE  
ARMY

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## THE MINISTRY OF MISCELLANY

Regular readers of GRAUSTARK know that from time to time a particularly large issue comes forth, in which the Gamesmaster catches up with the letter file and makes extended comments on postal Diplomacy and other topics. This time the lion's share of the space goes to a number of books which I have read or re-read lately, and on which I had a few comments to make.

This is a particularly large issue not only in terms of its size but also in terms of its press run. And for this purpose it is necessary to introduce GRAUSTARK to people who may be unfamiliar with it or with Diplomacy. First, Diplomacy. It is a board game invented by Allan B. Calhamer, copyrighted by him in 1959 and by Games Research, Inc., 48 Warcham St., Boston, Mass. 02118 in 1961. The game, which may be obtained from Games Research or from any good department or games store for \$8.00, is played on a game board which is a map of the Europe of 1914. Each player takes one of the 7 major powers, and attempts to outmaneuver and outnegotiate the others in order to dominate. There is no element of chance in the game. Instead, players set their fleets and armies against each other's in simultaneously presented moves. The moves are adjudicated according to set rules; the player or alliance which brings superior force to bear on a province can move into it and force the weaker to retreat. A player wins by occupying half the available supply centers on the board and raising more armies and fleets than all the others. The winning move is usually a properly timed doublecross of an ally. # 454

In 1961 it occurred to me that the game would lend itself well to being played by mail. Two years later GRAUSTARK began publication, and will round out 8 years in May.

GRAUSTARK is published on alternate Saturdays by John Boardman, 234 East 19th Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11226. Subscriptions are 10 issues for \$1; this will go up to 8 issues for \$1 when the postal rate increase becomes effective. Back issues, which will not change in price, are 10¢ each or 15 for \$1. The available back issues are 71, 78, 81-83, 85, 87,

(continued on p. 30)

## BOOK REVIEWS

S. J. Woolf (editor), EUROPEAN FASCISM (Random House, New York, 1968; \$8.95)

Roger Price, THE GREAT ROOB REVOLUTION (Random House, New York, 1970; \$4.95)

The term "Fascism" has been used extremely loosely by people on the political Left for almost 40 years. Under this heading have been lumped together the Ku Klux Klan, every segment of the Republican Party, liberal Hawks, Arab nationalists, and even Tito.

In a legitimate reaction from this unjustified blanketing, some serious historical scholars have gone in the other direction. They find reasons for denying the name "Fascist" to Hitler's Germany and Franco's Spain, and a few, pointing out differences between Fascist theory and practice, have even tried to deny it to Mussolini's Italy! Finally, in a complete devaluation of the term, some contemporary Americans are trying to represent the current anti-war movement as "Fascist".

In order to get back to basics, Woolf's book is well worth reading. It is a collection of articles on Fascist movements in various European countries during the interbellum, and concludes with an analysis of the surviving Fascist regimes of Spain and Portugal, and the prospects for Fascism in today's Europe.

Hugh Trevor-Roper identifies two strands of opinion and action that went to make up a Fascist movement, which he calls "clerical conservatism" and "dynamic fascism". The former was traditionalist and intellectual, the product of resentment over 19th-century victories by the liberal bourgeoisie. "The old elite of Europe, the aristocracy, the landlords, the established churches, and their theorists, nursed their wounds and meditated revenge on the upstart bourgeoisie which seemed everywhere to have triumphed over them. It was out of these disgruntled meditations in manor-houses and vicarages that some of the first fascist fantasies were born." On the other hand there was a lower middle class which resented the stirrings for equality by workingmen and "alien" minorities, "and who, as the most exposed members of the middle class, were the most zealous defenders of its status". In Germany such people constituted the Mittelstand to which Hitler appealed - a term having precisely the same connotation as today's "Middle America" or "Silent Majority".

These two groups contributed in varying proportions to the European Fascist movements of the interbellum. Sometimes their interests clashed, as when Hitler purged the "dynamic fascist" ("Brown Bolshevik") group in 1934, or when Count Paul Teleki committed suicide in 1941 because the "dynamic" group had taken control of Hungarian Fascism from the conservative aristocracy which he represented. But, especially in countries where Fascism did not have state power, the two groups could work in moderately close cooperation.

The book is quite useful in its studies of the little-known Fascist movements in the smaller European countries. Most people believe that the first Fascist regime was the one established by Mussolini in 1922. A more serious student of history will point to the "white terror" government which overthrew Bela Kun in Hungary in 1919. But it seems that the first regime which could be reasonably called "Fascist" in the correct sense was that set up by Sidonio Pais in Portugal in 1917.

Finland and Norway are usually considered as outside the mainstream of Fascism, since it never took power in the former, and held office in the latter only as a Nazi satrapy. Yet both Fascist movements developed in nations with a "western" democratic tradition and a high degree of industrialization and literacy - circumstances relevant to our own country if we are to engage in a discussion of which contemporary Americans are

"really" Fascists. A. F. Upton shows that Lapua, the Finnish Fascist movement, came very close to a seizure of power, and managed to get many of its programs adopted, including that sine qua non of Fascism, the outlawry of the Communist Party.

The discussion of French Fascism is limited to the Croix de Feu, which is a pity since there was so many other hard-right groups in France at that time. However, few of them contained both component views which Trevor-Roper finds in Fascism. The Monarchist movements and Action Française were simply "clerical conservatism", while the Francistes and Solidarité Française were simply "dynamic fascists" with little intellectual leaven. However, G. Warner, who comments on French Fascism, is too restrictive. The galaxy of right-wing intellectuals in Action Française, headed by Charles Maurras, had an influence on French conservative thought far beyond their organization. (Edward R. Tannenbaum's The Action Française is much better on these topics.)

Incidentally, Maurras may be staging a "comeback". A New Rightist magazine called Rough Beast has recently appeared in New York. (The title comes from a poem by the Irish Fascist poet William Butler Yeats, whose association with O'Duffy's Blueshirts has been slurred over by his admirers. Yeats expressed in the poem a resentment of the way old authorities are no longer being heeded, and was himself a perfect portrait of the "clerical conservative" strand in Fascism.) The longest article in Rough Beast's first issue is an extravagant panegyric on Maurras - which, however, does not mention that he collaborated with the Nazis during their occupation of France. The article's author is Raymond Denegri, American correspondent for Aspects de la France.

Spanish and Portuguese Fascism round out the volume, since they are the only two regimes from the "classical" period of European Fascism which are alive today. (Greece, although Fascist in this same sense, is too recent for an adequate coverage in this book.) Hugh Thomas, the writer on Spain, tries to clear Franco from the Fascist label by citing the discontent of the old Fascist purists with the compromises which the actual possession of power have necessitated - an argument which will find little support in the Euzkadian provinces.

In a postlude on contemporary Fascism, Christopher Seton-Watson points out how the modern survivors from the "golden age" of Fascism have discovered European unity. They now profess themselves the champions of a Europe united under a conservative, anti-Communist government, and able to speak on equal terms with the United States, the Soviet Union, and (if Great Britain is not included) Great Britain. The various national Fascist and emigré movements which compose the European Liberation Front are about the nearest thing to a Fascist International which now exists; their methods can be seen from the fact that the recent sniper who wounded a Soviet soldier at a Berlin memorial was an E. L. F. member.

The natural question of whether Fascism can succeed in America should be studied in the context of the views presented in Woolf's volume. We can set aside at the very beginning the notion that the anti-war movement is the nucleus of an American Fascism. Central to Fascist doctrine is the idea that war is a natural and desirable part of the human condition, and that peace is enervating, treasonous, and conducive to the development of Communism. Fascism is also opposed to democracy - not merely in practice but as a matter of basic doctrine.

However, Fascism is capable of drawing upon the "constituency" of the Left, and this fact has been overlooked by historians of both conservative and radical tendency. There are many elements on the New Left scene which could serve to draw people from it into Fascism - astrology and other forms of mysticism, the "machismo" of "direct action", individual terrorism as opposed to organizing a mass base, cultural nationalism which looks back to pre-industrial folkways as the true strength of a people,

and a belief that the proletariat has been superseded by some other class as the seed-bed of revolution. In particular, the New Leftist who defines the term "Third World" in terms of the ancestry of the people who are supposed to compose it is already half-way to Fascism.

But the potential Fascists of America must be sought elsewhere. Already both of Trevor-Roper's elements are here. The "clerical conservatives" are represented by William F. Buckley, and the "dynamic" element by George Wallace - though Wallace works from a base of American regional and populist racism rather than from Fascism in the European sense. The current feud between these two men is an ideological and personal power struggle for control of a new political force which both believe to be shaping up on the American Right.

Several scenarios for the advent of American Fascism have been proposed by men who "view with alarm". But at last we have one by someone who thinks it will be, if not a good thing, at least the best of a number of unpleasant alternatives. This is the viewpoint presented by Roger Price, who has taken off his clown suit and tried on a Sturmer uniform and jackboots for size.

The "Roobs" of whom he talks are classified in several different groups - whose sum total is the American people. So, when Price pokes fun at their taste, their folkways, and their beliefs, the sum total is Caligula's wish that the whole people had but one neck - so he could sever it.

After several chapters poking fun at Basic Roobs, Avant Roobs, New Roobs, and Sub Roobs, Price gets to the point. He accepts Nietzsche's distinction between the Master Morality and the Slave Morality, and comes out unequivocally in favor of the former. On the basis of the undeniable fact that Voltaire was a more attractive personality than Rousseau, he finds a distinction between people who practice a morality of Right and Wrong, and those who practice a morality of Good and Evil. (In case you don't get it, the former morality is Good and the latter morality is Evil.) Of the Welfare State he says, "Seeing in every individual a being exactly like ourselves, we marshal the entire resources of the state to salvage the unsalvageable." Der Untermensch verrecke!

Needless to say, this drive towards equality and mass culture will not be allowed to continue, in Price's fantasy world. Eventually a Strong Man will step in, end the anarchy, restore the Fundamental Verities by executive fiat, and put everything back together again. This millennium, which he calls the New Discipline, is carefully predicted by Price, even to the point of claiming that in 1975 the Dow-Jones average will stand at 1450 and milk will be \$1.15 per quart.

Of course, the New Discipline needs a dictator. This man is described in detail by Price, who misleadingly calls him "Cromwell". This is an injustice both to Price and to Cromwell. Oliver Cromwell did not step in to restore order in an age of anarchy, but to destroy tyranny and the possibility of its return. The choice in the England of 1649 was not between Cromwell and anarchy, but between Cromwell and the Stuarts - and this was proved in 1660 when, with Cromwell dead, the Stuarts came back, tortured Cromwell's lieutenants to death, and inaugurated a tyranny so bad that 28 years later Cromwell's job had to be done all over again. But Price's "Cromwell" comes to power in a scenario much more reminiscent of Mussolini, and will be so identified here.

Price sees society further breaking down during the second Nixon administration, with inflation and rebellion rampant. Finally in 1976 the electoral process completely breaks down, installing maybe Senator Fulbright over the objections of a rump Electoral College and large numbers of demonstrators. It is against this background that "Mussolini" makes a bid for power. In 1978 he will lead a march on Washington and get Congress to "appoint" him "Chief Administrator of the United States for the dura-

tion of the emergency". There will follow a ruthless suppression of all opposition, outlawing of all political organizations, martial law, and the establishment of political detention camps. (Mind you, Price is in favor of all this.)

It will not be a precise imitation of any European Fascism. "The man who will become Cromwell...will be in his forties. He will probably be an educated man and certainly a forceful speaker...He will be something of an ascetic, a nondrinker and nonsmoker, austere in his personal relations, highly disciplined in his private life...There may be something unexpected about him. He may have a limp, or be six foot five, or be Jewish or Italian, or wear a beard."

(Migawd! Meir Kahane!)

"His morality will have no racial overtones. The evil enemies of the state will be called Anarchists or Disrupters...Government...will certainly be paternalistic and authoritarian, but it will...really be a populist authoritarianism and will be called a Public Democracy."

For all his pop language, Price grasps one fact of Fascism which has escaped many people who use the term loosely. A necessary component of Fascism is a corporate socio-economic structure, allegedly to replace "class warfare" by "class cooperation". The last chapter of his book describes in great detail a caste system which his Mussolini will set up. There will be castes of Military Men ("already a unified, visible occupational Caste"), Technologists, Management, Professional Men, Educators, Media People, State Assisted, etc., etc. The membership, folkways, habits, and status of each caste is described minutely...

The European Fascist movements all had tame intellectuals who justified their platform and actions to others. Whatever one may have thought of their beliefs, it cannot be denied that the European Fascist intellectuals were brilliant and persuasive men: Mosca and Gentile in Italy, Rosenberg in Germany, Quisling in Norway, Maurras in France, Salazar in Portugal.

America has Roger Price.

Isaac Asimov, THE DARK AGES (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1968; \$4.50)

Isaac Asimov is a living refutation of the notion that specialization has taken over scholarship and left all the Renaissance men back in the Renaissance. He is well-known as an effective popularizer of the sciences, and as a science-fiction writer. But this book is the sixth in a series which he has written on history, and here he shows himself fully as effective an instructor and clarifier as he has done in the sciences.

Although nominally designed for young readers, and for this reason to be sought on the "Young Adult" shelves of your library, this series is by no means beneath the notice of adult readers or even of professional historians. Titles thus far published are:

The Greeks

The Near East: 10,000 Years of History

The Roman Republic

The Dark Ages

The Roman Empire

Constantinople

The Egyptians

The Shaping of Britain

Of all the books thus far published, perhaps The Dark Ages fills the widest gap in the knowledge of the average educated person. Say "Roman Empire" and there arises a vista of marble temples, citizens in togas, triumphal processions, and kilted legionaires manning battlements in Britannia, Noricum, or Judaea. Say "Middle Ages" and we see knights galloping around in full plate armour, Richard the Lionheart leading a thousand crusaders to the Holy Land, and pious monks illuminating the Psalms on parchment from which they have just scraped a comedy of Aristophanes. But between these two eras popular history draws a blank.

This blank Asimov fills, beginning with the first contacts between the

Romans and Germans in the time of Marius and the Cimbri, and going forward to the year 1000 CE, when the tide began to turn and Europe at last developed a social organization that could resist further barbarian invasions. He concerns himself principally with the regions overrun by Goths, Vandals, and Franks, leaving Britain and the eastern remnant of the Roman Empire to other books.

In doing so, he corrects a number of misapprehensions about this period. He shows that "Goth" and "Vandal" have unjustifiably become synonymous with ignorance and destruction respectively. He points out that the Germanic barbarians who invaded the western half of the Roman Empire were not pagan marauders, but Christians - a fact most disconcerting to those who like to identify "Christianity" with "civilization".

Asimov's scientific background prevents him from accepting the shallow "cyclical" theory of history. After all, in the sciences human history does not run in cycles, but in a steady advance of knowledge. Much the same is true in history as well. When traditional historians speak of the "Fall" of Rome, the barbarism of the Middle Ages, and the "rise" of Renaissance civilization, they mean that a large, centralized political unit has been succeeded by small, isolated units, which in turn were gradually consolidated again into larger, more centralized kingdoms. This is a "fall" and "rise" only if you identify quantity with quality.

The evolution of the Salian Franks into the Kingdom of France (and Holy Roman Empire) is the central theme of the book. Although Asimov has never read Archibald Robertson's treatment of history, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, his treatment of this theme is quite in agreement with Robertson's view of the Dark Ages. The Franks succeeded where the Goths and Vandals failed because they operated in alliance with the Church of Rome, the only agency which could command the support and respect of the peasantry and a link to the fabled past when all Christendom had been united under the rule of a Roman Emperor.

Many of the racial and dynastic quarrels left their traces in myths, often with distortions. Asimov shows what historical events spawned the myths of Dietrich von Bern, Siegfried and Brynhilde, and Orlando Furioso. You may be surprised to learn that Wagner's Ring Cycle is ultimately based on a ferocious dynastic squabble between two women of the Merovingian Dynasty, or that Roland was killed not by villainous Moslem Moors but by Euzkadians who were nominally Christians but chiefly loyal (like all Euzkadians in all ages) to Euzkadi and the main chance.

The breakdown of the Merovingian, and later the Carolingian, realms is chronicled in detail; here, you can tell the players with a program. The scenarios are the same: the royal dynasty runs out in a mess of fanatics, idiots, and buffoons, until some outsider with no trace of the Flood Royal comes in, knocks heads together or off, re-establishes order, and then dies to leave his descendants to recapitulate the same process.

In this melange of squabbling dynasts, the Church of Rome had a unique role. Alone among the institutions of the Dark Ages, it had interests beyond tribal boundaries and immediate power struggles. Its ministers may have been bigoted, power-hungry, superstitious, and tyrannical. But they represented a universal order, drew fewer distinctions of class or ancestry than any other institution of the time, and represented whatever existed of learning, clemency, and tolerance.

Asimov ends the book with an account of one of the most remarkable men of the period, a man whose contribution to knowledge has been neglected or underestimated by almost every other historian of the times - the French scholar Gerbert who was elected to the papal throne as Sylvester II in 997. Gerbert, who went to Muslim Spain for his education, was a scientist in an age when mundane learning came under great scorn. He invented the pendulum clock, tried to introduce decimal numerals into Europe, and may even have been responsible for making secular learning

respectable again. (After all, if a Pope is engaged in it, can it be satanic?) He also ended a succession of thoroughly repulsive Popes installed by the twists and turns of Roman civic politics, including John XII, the teen-age Pope, who was a screaming queen and died in flagrante delicto in 964.

The medieval chroniclers, upon whose authority we have most of the basic facts of the period's history, were concerned principally with the deeds of kings, noblemen, and clerics. As far as he can, Asimov tries to cut through this class barrier and tell us what the life of ordinary people was like. Of the Ostrogoth, Hunnic, and Avar kingdoms on eastern Europe he says: "An entire kingdom could seem to be destroyed and to vanish from the pages of history in this way. This is an illusion, however. The real population, the millions of slaving peasants, are there before the war bands (German or otherwise) come, remain under those bands, and still remain after the bands leave. The 'kingdoms' that rise out of nowhere and then suddenly vanish are simply the names we give the temporary aristocracies and don't represent the real population at all."

The turning point in the 10th century, when western Europe began to acquire the economic base to repel the barbarian invasions, Asimov marks not with any political development but by the invention of the moldboard plow and the horsecollar. These set the scene for the feudal age. A heavily armed and armored cavalry, that could call out and lead its serfs to war against Moors, Vikings, Greeks, or Magyars, was about to appear on the scene.

#### ANCIENT GAMES (Laureate Enterprises, 1968; 50¢)

This little 12-page booklet presents concisely and in easily playable form eleven traditional board games from four continents. All game boards are included, thanks to an ingenious arrangement by which several games requiring a 9x9 board are played, Go-fashion, on the points of a chessboard which may also be used for an 8x8 playing field. Pieces can be cut out of the heavy paper of the pages without destroying any boards or rules of other games on the reverse.

These games fall into a few basic forms: two mancala-style games (Halusa from Iraq and Ugg from Ethiopia); "Foz-and-Geese" types (Le Jeu Militaire from Franco, Rafaya from India, and the old Viking game of Tafl, known to the Welsh as Tawlbwrdd, and sometimes incorrectly translated as "Chess"); and a number of games in which captures are effected by bracketing the opponent's man or men with yours. The classic Nine Men's Morris, probably the oldest game in the world, is also included.

Not all the games are traditional ancient ones. Reversi, a late 19th-century invention, is included, complete with playing pieces which have the necessary difference in color between the two sides. Once put in place, Reversi pieces are never moved, but if they are captured by being flanked they are turned over to become the captor's property.

Interested readers may have a little trouble finding this game. I picked up a copy at the bookstore of the Columbia Teacher's College while shopping for something entirely different. The curious may have to look in places where teaching aids for elementary schools are sold.

(Book reviews are continued on p. 11, after the quiz. This publication is not edited under the supervision of Bangs Leslie Tapscott.)

"For all that's said and done, the Pen remains yet mightier than the Sword; for the Devil has yet to invent a tall-point sword." - Elliot K. Shriver, Pennoncel, III, #1.

## WHO SAID IT?

GRAUSTARK readers are asked to identify the sources of the following quotations. Just to narrow matters down a little, six names are given for you to choose from. But be warned - for one of the following quotations, all six names are wrong, and the correct answer is someone else!

The deadline for entries is SATURDAY 27 FEBRUARY 1971. The winner gets a free 20-issue subscription to GRAUSTARK.

1. "I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see, or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretense of managing the public only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labor for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please."

A. Thomas More      C. Maximilien Robespierre      E. Lincoln Stebbins  
B. John Lilburne      D. Karl Marx      F. Tom Hayden

2. "If the people itself sympathizes with the invasion of its country by a foreign force, action against that force would be a violation on our part of the rights of the people concerned."

A. Benedict Arnold, explaining the failure of the American invasion of Quebec.

B. Charles James Fox, attacking Pitt's policy of resisting the French revolutionary invasion of the Low Countries.

C. Theodore Roosevelt, responding to critics of his Panama policy.

D. Zhordania, a Georgian Menshevik leader, on the invasion of Azerbaijan by Soviet troops.

E. Molotov, explaining why the USSR did not support Poland against the Nazi invasion.

F. Prince Sihanouk, explaining why he did not ally himself with Ho Chih Minh against the French.

3. "When any person is intentionally deprived of his constitutional rights those responsible have committed no ordinary offense. A crime of this nature, if subtly encouraged by failure to condemn and punish, certainly leads down the road to totalitarianism."

A. Benjamin Cardozo      C. Earl Warren      E. Hugh Hefner  
B. J. Edgar Hoover      D. Roger Baldwin      F. Spiro Agnew

4. "The whole of Eastern and Southern Europe will come under Russian occupation. Behind an iron curtain mass butcheries of people would begin."

A. Napoleon I      C. Winston Churchill      E. Harry Truman  
B. Joseph Goebbels      D. Arthur Vandenburg      F. John Foster Dulles

5. "Universal education is the most corroding and disintegrating poison that liberalism has ever invented for its own destruction."

A. V. I. Lenin      C. William J. Bryan      E. Paul Goodman  
B. Friedrich Nietzsche      D. Edgar Rice Burroughs      F. Abbie Hoffman

6. "...government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

A. Book of Leviticus      C. John Wycliffe      E. Jean-Jacques Rousseau  
B. Tiberius Gracchus      D. John Locke      F. Abraham Lincoln

7. "Anybody has a right to evade taxes if he can get away with it. No citizen has a moral obligation to assist in maintaining the government."

A. Louis Blanqui      C. J. Pierpont Morgan      E. Ayn Rand  
B. Mikhail Bakunin      D. Emma Goldman      F. Jerry Rubin

8. "Do you wish to have no poor?...Distribute no alms and above all suppress your poorhouses. The individual born in misfortune thereupon seeing himself deprived of these perilous resources will employ all the courage, every means he will have received from nature, to extricate himself from the condition into which he was born; he will importune you no longer...What purpose, I ask, is there in preserving such individuals with so much care?"

A. Adam Smith      C. "Ebenezer Scrooge"      E. Nathaniel Brandon  
 B. Marquis de Sade    D. Herbert Spencer      F. William F. Buckley

9. "There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others...The principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders."

A. Admiral Kolchak    C. Adolf Hitler      E. Elizabeth Dilling  
 B. Winston Churchill   D. Albert B. Fall      F. Simon Petlyura

10. "We are not at war with \_\_\_\_; Congress has not declared war against the \_\_\_\_ government or the \_\_\_\_ people. The people of the United States do not desire to be at war with \_\_\_\_...Yet, while we are not at war with \_\_\_\_, while Congress has not declared war, we are carrying on war with the \_\_\_\_ people. We have an army in \_\_\_\_; we are furnishing munitions and supplies to other armed forces in that country, and we are just as thoroughly engaged in conflict as though constitutional authority had been invoked, a declaration of war had been made, and the nation had been called to arms for that purpose...There is neither legal nor moral justification for sacrificing these lives. It is in violation of the plain principles of free government." (Identify also the attacked country.)

A. Henry David Thoreau; Mexico      D. William Borah; Russia  
 B. Clement Vallandigham; the South    E. Robert M. LaFollette Sr.; Haiti  
 C. William J. Bryan; China            F. Eugene McCarthy; Vietnam

#### BOOK REVIEWS

(continued from p. 9)

Isaac Asimov, ASIMOV'S GUIDE TO THE BIBLE. VOLUME ONE: THE OLD TESTAMENT (Doubleday, New York, 1968, \$12.50)  
 VOLUME TWO: THE NEW TESTAMENT (Doubleday, New York, 1969, \$12.50)

There is no doubt that the Bible is a book of enormous influence, but the reasons for this influence cast no credibility or credit on the doctrines it contains. There are beautiful lyric passages, accounts of events of great consequence, and purported explanations of most of the great mysteries which perplex mankind. Yet this anthology has made its way in the world not by its persuasive influence acting on the inquiring mind, but by fire and sword, the rack and the thumbscrews, and in our own time by the gentler methods of ostracism and boycott against those who doubt it.

Considering the things claimed for it by those who believe it to be the absolute touchstone of truth, it could have been established as authoritative in no other way. For it does not present a single narrative and a single viewpoint. The oldest text in it seems to be the Book of Judges, which relates the conquest of Canaan by a barbaric confederation of desert raidors in the 12th century BCE. The youngest text in Christian versions of the Bible is the Second Epistle General of Peter, which

regards the Pauline epistles as already a part of canonical scriptures (2 Peter 3:15-16) and tries to explain why the second coming prophesied as imminent in the gospels (Matthew 16:28 et al.) is so unaccountably delayed (2 Peter 3:8-9). A period of some 14 eventful centuries thus separate the various books of the Bible, a period in which the Jewish outlook on life changed radically in response to that people's triumphs and tragedies.

It is for this reason that virtually every viewpoint can be appealed to the Bible for support. If you love war, there is 1 Samuel 15:1-23. If you prefer peace, you can appeal to Isaiah 2:4. If you are a prohibitionist, invoke Isaiah 5:22-23; if you like a little drink now and then, appeal to Judges 9:13 or 1 Timothy 5:23. What is your preferred form of government? Absolute monarchy? (1 Samuel 24:6) Limited monarchy? (Deuteronomy 17:14-20) A republic? (1 Samuel 8:10-18) Theocracy? (Psalm 105:14-15) Democracy? (Leviticus 25:10) The Bible will back you up on anything...even Communism! (Acts 4:34-35)

The Bible is even inconsistent as to what its own message is. Is it for Jews alone? (Deuteronomy 7:2-3; Deuteronomy 23:3; Matthew 15:24) Or is it for all men? (Isaiah 45:14; John 11:52) Or are the Jews, having rejected the mission of Jesus, to be placed outside the pale of humanity? (Matthew 27:25; John 8:44)

In addition there are errors in logic (Titus 1:12-13), mathematics (2 Chronicles 4:2), astronomy (Genesis 1), biology (Deuteronomy 14:7), history (Daniel 5:2 & 5:31), and almost every other field of knowledge.

Clearly, then, serious study of the Bible can begin only after the extravagant claims made for it are junked. Once it is realized to be a collection of books of thoroughly human authorship, written in times and with viewpoints that vary widely, it can be assessed for what it is. In the place of an absolutely infallible guide to human conduct, we have a set of very interesting documents on important eras in human history, an insight into the human heart, and numerous messages thoroughly relevant to the issues and problems of our own time.

This is the approach that Isaac Asimov, a Jew by upbringing, an agnostic by personal conviction, a scientist by profession, and a veritable polyhistor has taken. In this massive study of the Bible he gives it the same textual criticism, with the same regard to it as a product of its times, that any "secular" document would receive.

The result is a study that places the Bible in its proper perspective. Once we get rid of the idea that the five "Books of Moses" were written by Moses, it is possible to look at them (and the closely related Book of Joshua) as the annals and laws of the Jewish people, compiled before and during the Babylonian exile and attributed to the semi-mythical Moses to give them authority.

(Such a literary device is common in both the Jewish and the Christian scriptures, and in much other ancient writing. A man with his own ax to grind would set down his views and attribute them to such ancient worthies to give them authority. Or a writer, as a literary exercise, would compose a letter as it might have been written by some historic personage. The Greek writer Alkiphrion did a lot of this sort of thing, and the Greek Anthology contains numerous verses attributed to Sokrates and other ancients. But those who wrote in the name of the Apostle Paul managed to get off with even such extravagant self-praise as occurs in Philippians 3, and passed off the pithy arguments of 1 Thessalonians and the lumbering sentences of Ephesians as the work of the same hand.)

Asimov carefully sorts out the various strands that have been woven into the Bible: the two different creation stories, the "E", "P", and "J" texts in Genesis, the two different and contradictory accounts of the Hebrew conquest of Canaan which appear in Joshua and in Judges, and the

terrible tangle which occurs in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, in which the refortification of Jerusalem by Nehemiah in the time of Artaxerxes I is confused with an account of the rebuilding of the temple under Ezra's direction in the time of Artaxerxes II. There is also useful information about place and personal names. Asimov identifies in detail the Four Rivers of Genesis 2:10-14, the rise and fall of the Mesopotamian empires and how they affected Israel, the various Pharaohs mentioned in the Bible, and the necessarily veiled references by the prophets to the Seleukid Greek kingdom.

In the course of these books Asimov points out that many things popularly believed to be in the Bible are not there. Mary Magdalene is nowhere in the Bible stated to be a prostitute, reformed or otherwise; the evidence seems to indicate that she was mortally disturbed. Nor are there grounds for the popular identification of the author of the Gospel According to St. Mark with the embarrassed young man mentioned in Mark 14:51-52. On the other hand, interesting inferences about major biblical characters can be drawn. Partly from a rabbinical tradition and partly from the ease with which the prophet could approach the king, Asimov concludes that Isaiah was a member of the Jewish royal family, and like Pericles, Julius Caesar, Tolstoi, and Franklin Roosevelt a man who, born to a high social level, yet identified himself with the needs and hopes of the poor.

One can see the Bible develop with the vicissitudes of the Jewish people. Originally it was believed that God punished the wicked and rewarded the faithful in this world; the "Law of Moses" carries no reference to a life after death. But the Seleukid persecution shook the Jews' confidence in divine justice in this world, and put off the punishments and rewards to a future life. The most definite statement of belief in the Jewish scriptures in a life after death comes in the last book to be included in the canon: the Book of Daniel. (Daniel 12:2) No one, of course, need be deceived by the references in this book to "Nebuchadnezzar"; the author, who lived some time in the 2nd century BCE, used the old Jewish device of referring to a present persecutor by the name of one from the past. Many of the Psalms come from the same period; no one is going to try to pretend that the 74th and 79th Psalms were written for formal religious services in Solomon's temple.

The historical gap of 2 centuries between the Old and New Testaments is filled in part by the Apocrypha - books regarded as canonical scripture by the Catholic Church but not by Jews or Protestants. Asimov discusses these in the second volume, to show what kind of ideas were in the air in Jesus' time. The Books of Tobit and of Judith are basically historical romances, in which extravagant liberties are taken with the facts of history in order to make a point. Tobit is strong on angels - a Persian influence, like Tobit's pet dog, an animal held in high regard by the Persians but not by the Jews. In Judith, "we have the Assyria of the seventh century B. C. under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar of the sixth century B. C., which sends its army under a general of the fourth century B. C. to attack a re-established Judea of the fifth century B. C. Not a century is left out." The inspiring tale of Judith is based in part on the Makkabean revolt against the Seleukids and in part on the Greek victory at Thermopylae, for by this time Greek and Jewish thought were beginning to interact with each other.

Two of the five Books of Maccabees are regarded as canonical by Catholics; in discussing these little-known books Asimov necessarily gives a concise and thorough outline of Middle Eastern history from the death of Alexander to the rise of Rome. In the midst of these contending tyrannies the epic of the Hashmonaian revolt of 167 BCE, which eventually re-established an independent Jewish state, serves as an inspiration to the oppressed to this day. The most terrible fighter is the man who

originally wished to live by a doctrine of peace but is not allowed to do so. Thrones totter when their occupants elicit from their subjects such cries as that of 1 Maccabees 2:40: "If we all do as our brothers have done, and refuse to fight against the heathen for our lives and what we believe is right, they will very soon destroy us from the face of the earth."

And yet the Makkabeon dynasty fell into the same errors as its former persecutors; after the first generation it produced only one statesmanlike ruler, Queen Salome Alexandra (reigned 79-67 BCE). Themselves the victims of religious persecution, the Hashmonaim inflicted it upon their neighbors. And then, as in David's kingdom and in the Jewish state of our own time, men arose to vindicate the Jewish conscience even against a Jewish government.

The mutual animosities of the later Hashmonaim (for such is the more accurate name of the dynasty commonly called "Makkabeon") eventually brought in the Romans, who put the country under an Edomite straw-boss who founded the Herodian dynasty. (Needless to say, the Romans' Jewish subjects wrote bitterly about "Edom" when they really meant Rome!) But no previous invader had ever held the Jews in subjection long, and they felt that the same divine protection would enable them to expel the Romans.

It was against this background that the tragedy of Jesus was played out. For not only were Greek ideas circulating among Jews, but Jewish thought was impressing itself upon the Greco-Roman world. The Jews were, by their own account, a people of servile origin. (This is probably true; oppressed peoples are often inclined to invent for themselves pasts of transcendent glory, but if a man says he is descended from slaves, he is probably right.) Despite the overlay of royal and priestly tradition in Jewish scripture, a basic message became clear. We were once slaves. We won our freedom. You can, too.

Such an attitude would inevitably clash with the Roman Empire. And before the time of Jesus the stage was set for such a clash in two different forms. One would be a direct, Makkabeon-style Jewish nationalist revolt against Rome, which finally came to pass in 66 CE. The other was a diffuse variant, grown out of the interaction between Jewish law and prophecy with the myths of the other subject peoples in the slave-pen that was imperial Rome. Most of these peoples had myths about corn-kings who died and were buried in seed-time, and came to life again with the harvest. When this myth cross-bred with Jewish Messianic hopes, Christianity or something very like it was inevitable. Jesus was by no means the only man about whom such stories were centered; had his movement been utterly stamped out, one of the others would have flourished. There was the Spartan reformer-king Kleomenes III, who more than two centuries before Jesus fled to Alexandria, tried to raise a revolt against Ptolemaios IV, was betrayed to his enemies, held a last supper with twelve friends, bade them cease a hopeless resistance, and committed suicide. His body was crucified, but the common people hailed him as a god. There was Judas of Galilee, who rose in revolt against the same tax assessment described in Luke 2:1. (His sons and grandsons also claimed to be the Messiah.) Some 15 years after the crucifixion of Jesus one Theudas claimed to be the Messiah; he was also crucified. An unnamed Egyptian Messiah is mentioned in Acts 21:38 and by Josephus, and in Samaria Simon Magos was "giving out that himself was some great one" (Acts 8:9). What developed out of all this was an export version of Judaism, without the national exclusivism, circumcision, or dietary laws, and influenced by pagan myths about the dying and resurrected gods of mystery cults.

To get at the "historical Jesus" this accretion has to be shoveled out of the way. This Asimov tries to do in his second volume. Following as he does the order of biblical books as they appear in the King James

version, this aspect of the origin of Christianity is rather obscure. The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians is probably the earliest Christian document that has come down to us, and the first gospel to have been written was that of Mark.

Asimov disentangles the gospels in search of a "historical Jesus" behind all the fables. Mark has nothing to say about the alleged Davidic descent or virgin birth of Jesus. His Jesus is the normally begotten and born son of a Nazarene carpenter, who becomes Messiah by special divine appointment when John baptizes him. (Mark 1:9-13). The oldest manuscripts of Mark do not even have the last 12 verses of the book, which describe the appearance of the risen Jesus to his disciples.

The four gospels were written for different audiences. Matthew, who seems to have originally written in Aramaic, is an educated Jew writing to persuade other educated Jews that Jesus is indeed the Messiah foretold by the prophets. To do this he frequently cites Old Testament verses - and nearly always misses the point of them, as Asimov shows. Since the prophets claimed that the Messiah had to be of Davidic descent and born in Bethlehem, Matthew dutifully includes both. But his version of the Davidic descent flatly contradicts Luke's, and later on Jesus specifically denies that the Messiah has to be a descendant of David (Matthew 22:41-46).

Mark also writes for a Jewish audience, but not for a learned one; his Greek is considerably less polished than Matthew's. Luke addresses himself to gentiles and, since most of the peoples of the Roman Empire were used to worshipping goddesses, he makes much of Mary and the other women associated with Jesus. Luke is definitely the best writer of the four, and his writings, here and in the Acts of the Apostles, have contributed much to the popular myths associated with Christianity. But, writing for a gentile audience after it became evident that the Jews were not going to accept Jesus as Messiah, he is somewhat more anti-Jewish and pro-Roman than Matthew or Mark. This process is carried to its ultimate extent in John, the most Grecian of the gospel writers, in which Jesus is flatly and undoubtedly the Messiah, obvious to all except Jews and racketeers, with the Roman authorities either friendly or benevolently neutral.

It is interesting to note that, although Asimov has not read Archibald Robertson's The Origins of Christianity (International, New York, 1954), he comes to much the same conclusions as Robertson about the "historical Jesus" and his movement. Both men consider and reject the hypothesis that Jesus was entirely mythical. This viewpoint, which is based on many obviously mythical elements in the Christ story, forces us to regard as forgeries the New Testament, Tacitus, Josephus, Suetonius, and Plinius! There is, indeed, one flagrant Christian interpolation in one version of Josephus. However, the pagan writers refer to Christianity in terms that might be expected of conservative Roman gentlemen. As Fritz Leiber once remarked in another connection, "if you assume a big enough conspiracy, you can explain anything".

Where Asimov and Robertson differ is in their assessment of the real movement which Jesus headed. With Roman Palestine seething with revolt yet helpless against the legions, a violent uprising is far more likely than a peaceful message of accommodation with Rome and the search for an unworldly kingdom. And indeed such passages as Matthew 11:12, Mark 15:7, and Luke 22:36, which escaped the editing of later Christians who wanted to show that their church offered no danger to Rome, show what the original tenor of Christianity was. We know in our time what it means when a leader of the discontented mounts himself on a white steed and leads a march on the capital, followed by confrontations and rioting while public discipline is relaxed by a holiday.

Asimov does not go so far as to make Jesus another Judas of Galilee or Thoudas. In fact, he speculates that Judas may have betrayed Jesus either out of disgust with Jesus' pacifistic message, or in order to force his hand and produce a revolt. In line with this, Asimov speculates that "Judas Iscariot" may originally have been "Judas Sicariot", "Judas the Terrorist". Left unmentioned by either Asimov or Robertson is the possibility that Judas may not have been a real person at all. As the only Judaean among the Galilean disciples he could be a personification of the Jewish people as betrayers of Jesus.

Contrary evidence of the pacifist character of Jesus' original movement is the episode of Zachariah son of Barachiah, who is mentioned in Matthew 23:35 as the last of a long series of martyrs, "whom ye slew between the temple and the altar". Asimov mentions him but fails to identify him with a historical character. Robertson turns to Josephus and gets his man. Zachariah son of Baruch is a wealthy Jerusalemite, murdered as a suspected collaborationist by Jewish rebels in 68. This is quite an important discovery, as it helps fix the date of the authorship of Matthew. It also indicates the low standards of historical composition in the gospels; Jesus, who was crucified in 29, is made to speak in the past tense about a man killed in 68. And finally, by naming Zachariah as a martyr, Matthew indicates that he believes violent resistance against the Romans to be not only impractical but also impious. Jesus, living when the great revolt was still simmering, might have harbored and encouraged hopes of violent resistance. Matthew, writing after these dreams had perished in the flames of the temple, is a sadder and wiser man.

The Paul of the Epistles and the Paul of Acts are two different men, a fact to which Asimov gives inadequate weight. The Epistles make almost no mention of the "historical Jesus"; in them Paul expounds a mystery cult centered not on the resurrected god Attys or Orpheus but on a recently deceased Jew. But this other-worldly Jesus had no appeal for the masses of slaves and poor freedmen in the Roman Empire. They turned instead to the fiery oratory of Revelations, whose author writes in an ungrammatical and heavily Semitic Greek about the joyful day when the kings of the earth and their armies would be fed to the birds of the air. This book, which has been a target for the jibes of the intelligentsia from Paul's time to ours, was carried into the canon of the New Testament over the objections of several early church fathers. It tells us, in a bitter indictment (Revelations 18:11-13) why the Empire was so bitterly hated by its subjects. Refusal to perform an act of obedience to the Emperor was the acid test of the Christian during the early days of the church - not out of any distaste for idolatry, as a look inside any Catholic church makes clear, but simply as a refusal to accept the spiritual or secular authority of the Roman slavemasters.

This presented a dilemma to the early Christians. If they stressed the revolutionary and messianic aspects of Christianity, they would be suppressed; if they insisted that Christianity concerned itself only with kingdoms not of this world, their mass support would dry up. So a compromise had to be arranged between the revolutionary who said "Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down" (Revelations 18:21), and Paul who sent a runaway slave back to his master (Philemon 1:10-19).

For this job, the superb literary talents of Luke were called in. The Acts of the Apostles harmonizes the two traditions, giving equal weight to the Jewish-revolutionary and Greek-mystical traditions. Paul, the fierce partisan of the Epistles, is the ideal harmonizer in Acts. As a man of Jewish ancestry, well-learned in the Jewish scriptures, and yet a Roman citizen of good family, eloquent in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, he unites the two traditions.

In his description of Paul's missionary journeys Asimov tells how the center of gravity of Christianity slips from "the gospel of the circumci-

sion" to the "gospel of the uncircumcision". By the end of the 1st century it was quite obvious that Jews were not going to accept Jesus as the Messiah, and it was equally obvious that the message was finding a fertile field among gentiles. Furthermore, after the suppression of Jewish revolts in 70, 115, and 132, not the most devout Christian was willing to be known to the Roman authorities as a sort of Jew. So the Christians made their peace with Rome, put the Kingdom of God on Earth in cold storage, missionarized, stuck out the persecutions, and stood out for terms. Eventually one of the numerous generals contending for the Roman throne bid for their support, and the game was won.

Archibald Robertson, HOW TO READ HISTORY (Ungar, New York, 1954;  
\$5.00)

Napoleon I once observed "What is history but a fable agreed on?" In a discussion of historiography from Herodotus to the French Revolution, Archibald Robertson tells us why.

The professional historian or amateur reader of history must often pause to remind himself how scanty the actual source materials are in ancient and medieval history. Even modern history, written amidst a flood of newspapers, eye-witness observations, and party pamphlets, suffers from this problem, as E. H. Carr observes in What is History? when he discusses the Stresemann papers and their editing and dissemination. We have no Mossonian history of the wars with Sparta, no Carthaginian history of the wars with Rome, no Spartacist history of the servile insurrection. The only Jewish history of the revolt of 66-70 CE against Rome was written by Yosaf bar-Mattityahu, alias Flavius Josephus, an egocentric turn-coat to whom all rebels are "bandits" and whose hero amused himself by throwing bound prisoners into the Dead Sea to see whether they really would float. Only rarely does an "opposition" view surface, as when the Moabite Stone gives us Moab's view of the events described in 2 Kings 3: 6-27, or when the pagan Celsus' attack on Christianity is liberally quoted for purposes of refutation by Origen.

In order to read through the lines of unfriendly historians to get at the truth, Robertson makes certain practical observations. "The thing to remember about...history is that it relates to men and women of the same species as ourselves. The majority were occupied, as we are, in getting a livelihood in the day-to-day battle with nature, in courtship, marriage, and the rearing of children, and, when necessary, in defending themselves against enemies. They knew less than we about the world in which they lived, had less command over nature, and were less critical than we of tales of the marvellous; but their basic needs were the same as ours."

Knowing this, we can see through myths invented after the fact. Robertson addresses himself to such questions as why Sparta sent only a token contribution of 300 men to Thermopylae, why Athens pretended to "democracy" while sitting at the top of a pyramid of subject "allies" and slaves, how almost nothing in Livius can be trusted, how Rome compromised its social problems of the 1st century BCE by establishing the Principate, how the character of Tiberius was conscientiously blackened by hostile historians, how Christianity looked to Roman rulers (imagine a contemporary white middle-class American returning after 2000 years to find Leroi Jones worshipped as a god!), and the turns of power politics that established the Roman version of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire in the 4th century.

The "fall" of Rome Robertson sees as a fearful revenge exacted from the slave-empire by its millions of victims, barbarians from without and Christian sects from within. "For centuries her legions had swept the Mediterranean world for slaves to minister to her wants; for centuries she had kept her slaves down by fear of the scourge and the cross; and now she

was forced to bond the knee to a scourged and crucified God. There is no need to judge Rome by her worst sons! It is enough to judge her by her best. It is the cultured Pliny who returns thanks to Trajan for his lavish gladiatorial shows... It is the eloquent Symmachus, who regrets that a band of Saxon gladiators whom he purchased for the arena should have strangled one another rather than be butchered to make a Roman holiday. It is a little too much to ask us to regret the downfall of such a civilization as that."

Robertson's view of the Middle Ages is scarcely less bitter. Almost every one of the chroniclers upon whom we rely as a primary source was a monk. Yet even these fulminate against the greed, laxity, lechery, and tyranny of their fellow churchmen so that we can see of just what human material the "Age of Faith" was composed. One monk attacks an abbot who freed the abbey's slaves on his deathbed, "setting his successors an example not to be imitated". Another calls the massacre of 70,000 Moslems and the entire Jewish congregation of Jerusalem in 1099 "a new way of salvation".

Owing to the particular importance that the Normans have had in English history, Robertson examines their freebooting with particularly attention. From their original base in the lower Seine valley, wrenched by force from a feeble Carolingian, they sent out fighting men to Spain, Italy, Sicily, England, the Middle East, and finally Ireland. Thanks to an understanding with the Church of Rome, they operated everywhere as the papal shock-troops. Robertson even presents evidence that England under Harold Godwinsson was heading for an open break with Rome when William and his Normans landed. The Crusades appear as a straightforward plundering expedition by European lords and churchmen who tried to submerge doctrinal and political quarrels in one grand eastward expedition much as Alexander had in Greece of the 4th century BCE.

The decay of the Middle Ages Robertson identifies economically with the rise of the mercantile cities and ideologically with the movement variously called Catharite, Paulician, Albigensian, Patarene, or Bogomil. These people seem to be descended from the 3rd-century heresiarch Paul of Samosata, whose version of Christianity was the state religion in the short-lived kingdom of Odainath and Bath-Zabbai (Odenathus and Zenobia) in Tadmor (Palmyra). The Paulicians believed that Jesus was the Son of God by adoption through his merits, a view which is in agreement with Mark 1:9-13 but is regarded as heretical by Trinitarian Christianity. Later we find them settled along the eastern border of the Roman Empire, intermingling with Gnostics, Manichaeans, Moslems, and others. In the 8th and 10th centuries Roman Emperor transplanted them to the Balkans to hold the frontier against the Bulgars. Needless to say, they fraternized, spread their doctrines, and slowly moved westward. By the 12th century we find them as far afield as London, where the branding iron, the whip, and the stake were regarded as adequate refutation of their doctrines.

Though their doctrines were driven underground, they never died out. (Some of them, regarding the material world as hopelessly wicked, went over into sexual promiscuity - so much so that the ancient Gnostic recognition symbol, scratching the palm during a handshake, is to this day universally regarded as an invitation to sexual intercourse.) They surfaced again in the 16th century as the extreme left wing of the Reformation, and finally begat the early Freethinkers and Quakers. Here again, we know most about them from their enemies. The notorious Anabaptist reign at Münster in 1534-5 will bear favorable comparison with any other regime in contemporary Europe, Protestant or Catholic.

The English Civil War of the 1640's is shown by Robertson to have been basically a class war, rather than the battle for religious freedom it is often presented as. As a witness for this view he calls none other than Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, a royalist historian. Clarendon continu-

ally comments on the low estate of the rabble who followed the Parliament and Cromwell, giving a picture much like the French Revolution of a century and a half later. And, just like the later revolution, there soon developed a clash of interests between the lawyers and bourgeoisie who sat in the capital, and the commoners who filled their army.

Much nonsense has been written about both these revolutions by romantically inclined partisans of the Stuarts and the Bourbons. Strafford is pictured as a martyr - Strafford, who would have been an English Richelieu, establishing the authority of the king as absolute. The Frenchman Bossuet damned Cromwell and the English as rebels against God, in language which the British orator Burke was to turn against Bossuet's countrymen when their revolution came. As for the "Reign of Terror", Robertson tellingly quotes Carlyle that "there is no period to be met with in which the general Twenty-five Millions of France suffered loss than in this period which they name the Reign of Terror". He adds, "Their régime will bear comparison with the Britain of that day, in which boys of fourteen were hanged for theft, . . . poor children were drafted in cartloads to a living death in coal-mines or cotton-mills or as chimney-sweeps, and a man was whipped through the streets of Edinburgh and banished from Scotland for taking part in a combination of Glasgow weavers against a reduction of wages. Against that background the tirades of Burke about the horrors of the French Revolution ring false and hollow."

In conclusion, Robertson addresses himself to the question of "progress" in history. He rejects the view that we have made "material" progress at the expense of "moral" values; after all, our moral values depend on our material surroundings. "If we ask why we disagree with Plato and Aristotle about slavery, the answer is that we are able to do without it. . . . The economic change preceded the moral. The average man is as humane as circumstances allow him to be, but no more." His criterion for progress - an idea which modern historians generally got embarrassed about - is "the well-being of men and women in the mass".

Robertson is useful not only as a guide to the eras which he discusses, but also for the sake of his critical approach in others. Asian, African, and American history, and 19th- and 20th-century history, lie outside the realms to which he addresses himself. However, the same standards can be applied there. Much of what he says about the English and French Revolutions is also applicable to the American and Russian ones. Kung Fu-tse (Confucius), like Plato, must be read with his social position and attitudes kept in mind. The New York Daily News, or even the New York Times, must be approached on the subject of Communism much as Cicero is approached on the subject of Catilina. We must deafen ourselves to official condemnation if we want to hear what Simeon bar-Giora, Wat Tyler, Thaddeus Stevens, or Lyu Shau-chi were really saying.

Max Shulman, THE FEATHER MERCHANTS (Doubleday, 1944)

Anyone who passed over the bibliographic data just given would find this book fitting into a familiar mold. It is the book which debunks both the armed forces and the hawkish civilians who send men to war because they can imagine no other way of solving problems. It is in the tradition of Catch 22, M\*A\*S\*H, Apple Pie, or - to go back a few years - to Schweik. It has all the stock characters and situations - the baffled soldier caught in a situation too crazy to accept and too real to ignore, the civilians who want the enemy served smoking hot for breakfast tomorrow morning, war profiteers, predatory girlfriends, and practical jokers.

So look at the date again. This is no product of the cynical fifties or the militant sixties. This book was written by a soldier, in the middle of the war with widest popular support in this country's history.

Those few members of the New Generation who have heard of Shulman tend to dismiss him as an old-time humorist, a contemporary perhaps with Ward and Bierce. But during the 1940's, at the height of his talent, he was the nearest thing to Jonathan Swift that this country has ever produced. If his talent ran to potboilers in the fifties, well, so did Swift's when he took to writing party pamphlets for the Tories in Queen Anne's days. But there was a Shulman before the wretched "Dobie Gillis" stories and scripts, or the autobiographical Rally Round the Flag, Boys, or the didactic dullness of Anybody Got a Match?

The young Shulman, fresh out of the University of Minnesota and into the ground forces of the air forces (which, I am informed, is the softest touch in the armed forces), wrote incisive slapstick. This is not easy; look how often so good a writer as S. J. Perelman tries it and fails. Barefoot Boy with Check (1943) dissects campus life in terms still germane today; The Zebra Derby (1946) jibes at professional veterans and at the whole bright new "postwar world"; Sleep Till Noon (1949), probably his best book, is social satire so cutting that anybody except Shulman would probably have had to explain it to Senator Joseph McCarthy a few years later.

The hero of The Feather Merchants is a callow young Minneapolisian in the ground forces of the air forces, which sounds familiar. While other authors of the day cloak their heroes in patriotic rectitude, Shulman's Dan Miller and his family shop on the black market, pontificate about the progress of the war against "the little yellow man", and intrigue for the main chance with little regard for the war effort.

Shulman, of course, makes the requisite bows in the House of Rimmon. Miller visits his old campus, and finds a would-be writer who plans to leap into print the day the war ends with the first book debunking it, to "scoop the whole world". After hearing him describe this exposé in detail, Miller walks off, coolly lying, "I've got an appointment". But his friend's indictment is considerably the more eloquent. As for the war itself, "We had learned in the previous twenty years that nobody would survive the next war. Now we were in the next war, a just, unavoidable war," (bow) "and all the young cynics turned into heroes...It was a time of tragic magnificence, as any fool could plainly see." ("Eppur si muove!")

More telling is an episode when Miller parts with his Milo Minderbinderish friend Sam Wye:

"That's a fine way to talk to a comrade in arms who is leaving for the wars in a couple of days."

"Where are they sending you, Sam?"

"I don't know."

"What are you going to do?"

"Kill people."

The principal plot (for Shulman is given to long digressions about people barely germane to the story) is an old one - how a man, through actions which seem either desirable or unavoidable at the time, gets into a terrible mess. Miller lets Wye get away with passing him off as a war hero, and then the whole topic of heroism comes under Shulman's scalpel. One mischievous and drunken friend is sufficient to create a hero; how many real-life reputations are created this way?

Like much fiction of our own time, there is no definite ending, and things somehow seem better this way. There is no telling how he produced it in the ambience of 1944, but Max Shulman wrote a very good novel of the 1960's then!

For some reason, the Crawford illustrations of the hard-cover and early paperback issues of Shulman's works seem to fit them better than the Dodini illustrations of the more recent paperbacks.

## THE DIPLOMATIC POUCH

For the benefit of those who are new to GRAUSTARK, this is our letter column. It ranges very widely - from comments on the rules of across-the-board and postal Diplomacy, through other board games, and over into real-life wars and history. Comments of the editor are indicated by double parentheses ((like this)). Dates of the letters are printed where known.

GEORGE GRAYSON, 621D 13th St., Terrace, Leavenworth, Kansas 66048 (15 Oct. 1970): We're getting some across-the-board Diplomacy around here. After all, Fort Leavenworth houses the Army's Command and General Staff College, a sort of advanced training for majors and lieutenant colonels who have been marked for promotion. A few of these are interested in Diplomacy. But they're all married, so it's hard to get seven. Fortunately, Jennifer's pediatrician plays too, and he's single.

((You should hear our Founder, Alan Calhamer, discuss sometime the difficulty of playing Diplomacy with three married couples!))

The most important thing I learned here is that, all propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, some army officers are human. Even some who are career. Some of them had only a few years to go before retirement when this entire situation in Southeast Asia expanded, and even though they harbor private opinions that we are making a mistake there (some are hawks and others doves in their opinion of the nature of the error) they have gone and followed orders because they were not willing to put principle ahead of survival for themselves and their families. When you come right down to it, what is a 37 year old officer who's been in the service since age 19 going to do to earn a living if he resigns? He has no marketable skill. So he continues to do something unpleasant thinking "this too shall pass" - just like countless civilian "wage slaves" who don't enjoy their work. I think that's a natural, human choice to make, just as long as one understands that he's made a compromise with his conscience and he doesn't believe all the rhetoric spouted in his behalf by certain officials.

((Didn't Hugh Johnson, himself an ex-general, find work for lots of ex-officers in executive positions in the Civilian Conservation Corps? Since some such project as the CCC will have to be part of the War on Poverty that must necessarily follow the War on Vietnam, we may have places for these men.))

BOB STRAYER, 4150 Augusta Ave., Phoenix, Ariz. 85021 (undated but referring to GRAUSTARK #220): I guess you've been waiting for a blazing letter of rebuttal from me in answer to your attack on astrology. In fact I concur with your opinion of astrology in every respect but one. The character sketches, in my own humble opinion, are a valuable insight into differing frames of reference. And who knows but what an ability to see a given situation from more than one point of view might just turn out to be an advantage to the Diplomacy player. I'd laugh my ass off if Allan Calhamer turned out to be an astrology nut.

Aside from the character sketches astrology is as you say, "loads of horseshit". The lure of astrology is self-indulgence, and fools like myself are easily led into buying a paperback in order to read about their own zodiacal character.

I guess I haven't come up with much of a rebuttal because I'm only defending one segment of astrology while you attack it as a whole. So you can take your opinion of astrology and jump into  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a lake. So there!!

By the way, during the last postal strike Mercury was playing with itself.

((That is an appropriate occupation for a planet regarded by the astrologers as neither masculine nor feminine.))

EARL HEDIN, USAF MC, Box #7151, USAF Hospital, APO San Francisco, Calif. 96323 (11 Jan. 1971): I noticed something curious in both GRAUSTARK and Rod Walker's Erohyon: propaganda is quite sparse, and little, if any, has to do with the actual Historical Figures of the era. What I've enjoyed so far in my one mail game (1969CN) has been the utilization of this type of propaganda in communiques, treatises, news-releases, etc. Isn't this common, have I just seen some unrepresentative copies, is room the problem, or what? One good game, with all the trappings, would be worth five of the novo-movo-novo type, which seems so devoid of all the charm of what I was referring to. Your thoughts appreciated.

((The character of the press releases differs from game to game, and depends on the players and circumstances. Derek Nelson is quite good at "authentic" press releases, and tends to have in charge of his country the people who were actually running it in 1901. Once a list of the actual rulers and high officials of the European belligerents was published in GRAUSTARK to facilitate this kind of press release. Sometimes players get fictional and didactic, grinding their own axes in their press releases. Rod Walker's anti-colonialism, my anti-militarism, and some views which Bob Strayer has brought out of his Mississippi heritage are all evident in our press releases. The best games are those in which the players play up to each other's press releases. A good recent example in GRAUSTARK was 1966A, which had Rod Walker playing Austria-Hungary and me doing "neutral" press releases from Brooklyn. Rod had put a member of the House of Borgia in as Empress of Austria-Hungary and "Popo Joan II". I responded with a woman who claimed to be the Popo-Emperor's daughter Svetsoxa, who had fled to America under the name of "Mrs. Hullabaloo" and was working as a stevedore while her memoirs were being ghost-written under the supervision of Mr. Mutimus Nightstand, head of Nightstand Press. Something of the sort seems now to be shaping up in 1970M, which combines Strayer's Leroy the Boy, Walker's Popo Deiporatus, and my Empire of Pollutidar, based vaguely on the "Pollucidar" stories of Edgar Rice Burroughs.))

Am starting a community game (we're all married) with the idea of having one move a week; seven couples involved, husbands and wives are supposed to work together of course. Will be interesting to see how it turns out, I think. (Can you imagine Austria offering Turkey his wife for a night in exchange for Greece?) ((Easily, considering the standard of ethics which appears in over-the-board games. I can further imagine interesting variations of this ploy, depending on how available a supply of spirochotes is.))

Am a military physician pro-tom only; out, and back to sanity, in approximately one year.

Again, congratulations on your political commentary, some of the clearest thinking I've seen expressed since I left the States.

((Thanks, and best hopes for your speedy return.))

WALTER BUCHANAN, R. R. 3, Lebanon, Ind. 46052 (24 Nov. 1970): I'm interested in compiling a record of all GRAUSTARK games... Maybe you know someone that has lost interest in "the game" and would be willing to sell me their old GRAU's or someone else that would be willing to lend me old GRAU's for Xerox purposes?

My purpose in all the above, and I admit it's only a pipe dream at present, is to collect enough complete games to have a book eventually published on the subject. In Chess, books of complete games by the masters are quite popular items, and if Diplomacy grows enough, as the current interest indicates it will, a collection of games with some annotation might become a marketable item.

((Any readers who can help should write.))

KEN SCHER, 3119 Mott Ave., Far Rockaway, N. Y. 11691 (30 Nov. 1970): There is yet another similarity between the Puritans and the New Left ((see GRAUSTARK #225, p. 11)). They are (were) both repressive to all those who do not agree with them, thus destroying the very conditions that allowed them to gain power.

((Macaulay's essay on Milton, I feel, says all that needs to be said about the relationship between the Puritans' life style and their doctrines. For a more modern assessment of their aims and accomplishments, see Robertson's How to Read History, reviewed in this issue. Almost every legislative enactment of the Puritans was incorporated into English and American law by the latter half of the 19th century except for their religious exclusivism, and that vanished as soon as they were secured in their freedom of worship. There was more civil and religious liberty in Puritan England than there was in any other government in any other country of that century.))

ALLAN B. CALHAMER, 501 N. Stone, La Grange, Ill. 60525 (undated): I have wondered about the following variant: suppose the players agree in advance to play so many moves, after which the two biggest powers are equal winners.

I think the advantage is that each country will almost always border on at least one of the Big Two; hence each country will always have someone he can hit at close at hand. If only the Big One wins, then some countries can't get at him, and the game frequently becomes cut and dried too quickly.

Another advantage is the miltid length, which permits over-the-board players to go home with the knowledge that two of them won, and helps postal Game masters figure and limit their costs.

There might even be fewer abandoned games if they were only going to last so long anyway. I suggest seven years as the length of game.

Another disadvantage of the Big One is that if somebody collapses, intentionally or otherwise, he hands the game to another player. But under the Big Two concept, there would still be play at least to see who would be the second winner. Then, with players not losing heart, they might also get together and trim the biggest power.

However, there might be a disadvantage in that permanent two-power alliances might form, which might tend to reduce the diplomatic flexibility of the game. Those sometimes form anyway, but the Big One concept helps to discourage them (a little).

(I am reminded of the European situation of 1755. For over two centuries there had been continuous conflict, hot or cold, between France and the Habsburg monarchy. France had hoped to chip loose pieces of Burgundy and the Austrian Netherlands, and replace the Habsburgs with some pliant German house as dominant in the "Holy Roman Empire". The Habsburgs aimed to encircle France in Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and put a puppet on the French throne.)

(Finally, around the middle of the 18th century some genius decided to carve up the pie so that both parties would have what they wanted. Prussia was then rampaging through central Germany, and had conquered Austrian Silesia. So France and Austria made a deal. Together with Russia and Sweden, they would crush this Prussian upstart. Austria would get back Silesia and regain the supremacy of Germany. France would be repaid out of Austrian possessions in Belgium. The other allies would be paid off with chunks of Prussia's Baltic coast, and it would be peace, sweet peace in central Europe forevermore.)

(Well, it didn't quite work out that way, thanks to the genius of Frederick II, the insanity of Pyotr III, and heavy English subsidies. But it was a great idea.)

DAVE KING (28 Oct. 1970): In GRAUSTARK #223 you stated that you do not consider suppression of pro-war speeches a breach of civil liberty. Although war is very definitely not a civil liberty, freedom of speech is. Communism is not a civil liberty either, but it is legal to advocate it provided you do not infringe upon the rights of others. I am not in favor of the war, but I believe those who are should be given a chance to state their feelings.

(The war in Vietnam meets the legal definition of a "riot" in most states. Now under the terms of New York vs. Feinor (U. S. Supreme Court, 1951) a man who incites to riot when the riot is actually going on is not exercising his legitimate freedom of speech. He can be jailed for it. The riot doesn't have to be in New York (or wherever) - just the intent. Numerous Supreme Court decisions have concluded that conspiracy to commit a crime is not protected under freedom of association, or freedom to advocate it under freedom of speech. And if this holds for crime, it holds a fortiori for war - particularly for a war for which no constitutional mandate exists.)

(No war was ever fought that was not first advocated and planned. If it is a criminal act to persuade men to help you rob a bank, it is a criminal act to persuade men to help you bomb a city.)

WILLIAM F. JARVIS, 44 Dover Park, Rochester, N. Y. 14610 (6 Jan. 1971): Am I correct in assuring that Game 1970J is the 10th game begun in 1970, and that 1970BB is the 28th? (Right the first time, but not the second. Under the numbering system which I originated, 1970Z is followed by 1970AA, then 1970AB, etc. 1970AZ is followed by 1970BA. So 1970BB is the 54th game of that year.) How does the "stand-by" system work? How can I get into a game? How are the moves transmitted?

(Each game has stand-bys; they pay the same game fee (\$5.00), get the issues as quickly as the active players do, and are called on if a player misses a set of moves. If a player should miss moves - and this includes "winter" builds - the first stand-by is asked to submit the next moves for that country. If the original player misses two moves in succession, he is dropped from the game, the stand-by's moves are used instead, and he takes over play of that country. On the basis of my experience with GRAUSTARK, I can assure the first two stand-bys that they will get into their games. If I need further stand-bys, it is usually for countries on their last legs, and those are free.)

ALLAN B. CALHAMER (5 Jan. 1971): By the way, I note that you mentioned E. H. Carr's book in GRAUSTARK #228. At the time that book came out, I had a professor of Russian history at Harvard who attacked the book (The Bolshevik Revolution) claiming that Carr was "an authoritarian" who had "favored Hitler when he was up", and switched to the Communists after Hitler was defeated.

LEE CHILDS, 14136 Hartsook St., Sherman Oaks, Calif. 91403 (undated): As of Vol. 2, #7, the Borzerkakov Bark folded. I have continued the Linbourg Gazette on my own since.

I am not trading with 'zinos which I am not playing... I am looking for a Gamosmaster to take over 1969BD, of which I am a part. If you can be persuaded to take over this game, I certainly would like to trade with you. (All players have been contacted and are ready to go.)

((Regrettably, I am currently running six games and printing seven every two weeks, and could not possibly handle more. However, other Gamosmasters may be interested.))

ROD WALKER, 5058 Hawley Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92116 (27 Oct. 1970): Of course war is not a civil liberty. It is a prerogative of the State and not of the citizen. But the advocacy of any opinion or course of action is a right and a civil liberty. There is no opinion so pernicious that it should be suppressed. Furthermore, your definition of what constitutes a "pro-war" opinion is so vague, diffuse, illogical, and hysterical that it is dangerous. Come off the pedestal, John; either you're in favor of free speech or you're against it. And obviously you're against it. This is not surprising. The New Left neo-Nazis are afraid of opposition - with very good reason - and wish to silence it. Characterizing all opposition as "pro-war" is a nice tactic, fully worthy of the successors of Hitler, Goering, Stalin, and Beria, which the SDS, Panthers, and the whole spectrum of the so-called "New Left" certainly are. I hope they are proud of their heritage. No civilized human being is.

((No who was talking about hysteria?))

((Anyone who believes that the New Left is Fascist should ask a genuine Fascist what he thinks of them. Period. End of argument.))

((And war is not made by "states". Nor is it made by "social forces", "racial antagonisms", "basic human nature", or "economic rivalry". Wars are planned, advocated, and ordered by specific human beings - specific identifiable, indictable, triable, convictable, imprisonable, and executable human beings. I see no distinction between a Manson who orders four or five people to go somewhere and kill seven people, and a Nixon or a Nixon who orders half a million people to go somewhere and kill uncounted hundreds of thousands of people. In justice, Manson ought to be sent to spend the rest of his life on a luxurious ranch in Texas, like any other mass murderer. Or conversely, if it is "free speech" to urge people to go to Vietnam and kill, it is "free speech" protected by the First Amendment to urge people to go to a Hollywood mansion and kill.))

((Back to you, Rod. Let's hear it for Charles Manson's rights of freedom of speech and assembly.))

JOHN BESHARA, Apt. 1021, 155 W. 68th St., New York, N. Y. 10023 (25 Jan. 1971): Chris Schloichor, Atlantis, has a regular game opening. His rules are the same as those of GRAUSTARK and he does advertise the fact. I will be doing commentaries from time to time of the new game. Game fee is \$4.00 (\$3.00 for members of the International Federation of Wargamers and the National Fantasy Fan Federation Games Bureau.) Please give him a plug in the forthcoming issue. You might also mention that I contribute articles on strategy and tactics for that 'zino. ((It is done.))

JERRY MODEL, 3327 Holmes Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn. 55408 (14 Dec. 1970): One thing I've wanted to know for a while. What is the relative frequency that the different countries win games? Most of us have some opinion as to the difficulty or simplicity (relatively speaking) of the various countries in Diplomacy, but what has experience shown? I think some tabulation of the results of past games might give some sort of empirical measure to the difficulty of the separate positions.

In fact, it may be useful to apply one of the current rating systems currently used for players to each of the separate countries. How do they stack up? What is the significance of playing and winning with, say, Austria, as opposed to playing and winning with France? or Turkey?

I have no idea of what possible use this could be, but it would be fascinating, as

Mr. Speck of Star Trek fame would say.

((Some Gamesmasters, including John McCallum and Rod Walker, do run rating systems. The consensus of opinion among Diplomacy players is the Turkey is naturally the strongest country, and Italy is naturally the weakest. But dissenting opinions are heard. One player may maintain that Russia, since it begins with 4 units to each other player's 3, should win iff well played. Another will observe that England, like Turkey, does not need to worry about protecting its rear, and is also less vulnerable to an early-game alliance among its nearest neighbors. And Italy and Austria-Hungary have won GRAUSTARK games.))

...Oh, one more thing. I've followed many of the currently running games in GRAUSTARK. Do you allow either 1) commentary on the games by non-players, or 2) participation in the diplomatic part of the game by 'non-players', as mediators, third parties, spies, etc.? I ask this because occasionally I see a very stupid move or the possibility of a good one or a very very good move which I think ought to receive the proper attention, in purely strategic terms.

And while I'm at it with suggestions, have you ever thought of running a column by one of the more expert players on 1) strategy and tactics, or 2) diplomatic tactics and techniques?

((Non-players are not only allowed, but encouraged, to comment on games and submit press releases. Allan Calhamer, John Boshara, Eugene Prosnitz, and other strong players have written articles on either specific games or general strategy for GRAUSTARK in the past. In addition, analyses of completed games are printed; you will find some in #200 and #201. GRAUSTARK is always open for articles of this sort from readers.))

(13 Jan. 1971): I would like to add my voice to the discussion over the Reinhardt Gambit, especially with respect to your ruling in GRAU #218, p. 7, your explanation in GRAU #220, p. 6, and Rod Walker's arguments in GRAU #228, p. 7.

The problem seems to stem directly from an ambiguity in the Rules as to the meaning of the phrase "move against".

The book states:

"...an order to move, with support, against a unit belonging to the same country as the moving or supporting unit is of no effect..."

This you quote in GRAU #220. But what does it mean 'to move against'? Consider the following two cases:

Caso I: ENGLAND: F Lon-North Sea; GERMANY: F Hol-North Sea.

Caso II: ENGLAND: F Lon-North Sea; GERMANY F North Sea holds.

In both cases we can consider the English fleet to be 'moving against' the German fleet. But they are clearly distinct. Case I involves England 'moving against' a unit which is also moving. Case II involves England 'moving against' a unit which is not moving. It is very much like the phrase 'I am moving in the room'. In, or into?

((Good old English language! German, and any number of other languages, would be much clearer. "Ich geho in den Zimmer" or "Ich geho in das Zimmer".))

Walker and Boshara interpret 'moving against' as referring to Case II only. Clearly, the rule book would agree with that. You contend that 'move against' covers both cases. What to do?

I think a solution lies in reading the rulebook carefully and finishing the sentence from which the above quote is lifted.

such as "...an order to move, with support, against a unit belonging to the same country as the moving or supporting unit has no effect; that is, a country may not force one of its own units to retreat."

Horoin lies the solution. The phrase "that is" in the above context means "that is to say" or "is equivalent to saying". Thus, "...an order to move...has no effect" is equivalent to "a country may not force its own units to retreat". Now in cases of type I, this question does not enter into it. That is, in the example:

ENGLAND: F Lon-North Sea, F Edi-North Sea.

GERMANY: F Hol S ENGLISH F Lon-North Sea.

the 'moving against' is of type I, there is no question of England "forcing one of its own units to retreat". Thus, this order does have effect.

(continued on p. 30)

## THE ITALIAN CIVIL WAR OF 197X

As far as the popular, or even the governmental, mind is concerned, crises always fall out of a clear blue sky with no advance indications. The world is lapt in universal peace until someone shoots an archduke or delivers an ultimatum or refuses to move to the back of a bus, and then a crisis is upon an unsuspecting nation or world.

The forthcoming civil war in Italy seems to be sneaking up this way. The "overt act" of the civil wars of 1848 was a student dropping a walking stick into the orchestra seats of a theater from the balcony. Something even less germane and more inane may trigger the Italian conflict, and then in Italy and abroad expressions of absolute bewilderment will be heard.

The Italian Civil War will be the expression of a breakdown in the multi-party system which has dominated the country ever since the end of World War II and the founding of the republic. The chief characters in this scenario are as follows:

Christian Democratic Party (DC): Between the world wars, the Church of Rome gave tacit backing to several Fascist parties in Europe, as described in the book on Fascism reviewed in this issue. But democrats within the church were never very happy about this policy, and when it was discredited by World War II they moved into the ascendancy. There are now moderately liberal, democratic, clerical parties in most European countries which have large Catholic populations - even in Poland, whose Znak Party has a few seats in the parliament. Italy's DC's are the most successful of these parties, having dominated the governing coalition since the first post-war elections of 1948. It covers a wide spectrum of opinion, from conservatives who take their political direction from the clergy as a matter of habit to radicals who believe that the church has to put itself at the forefront of radical social reform in order to cut out the left-wing parties. This latter group (DC-Left) shows a tendency to work with various socialist groups in the "Opening to the Left" policy.

Communist Party of Italy (PCI): This is the largest and most responsible Communist Party in western Europe. For over a century there has been a segment of the Italian population that has voted as far Left as it could, out of reaction first to Pius IX and then to Mussolini. The Communists were able to pick up most of these people during the long reign of Mussolini. This party has protested Soviet policy in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and has a sizable mass base that can count on at least 25% of the vote. They now have 171 of the 630 seats in the Chamber of Deputies; the DC's have 265.

Socialist Party of Italy (PSI): This group was formed in 1966 by the merger of two Socialist parties, one favoring and one opposing cooperation with the Communists. Though this group is capable of coalizing with the PCI, one segment within it has pulled out and further to the Left. This group is the

Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP): which often runs joint electoral tickets with the PCI. The PSI now has 91 seats, and the PSIUP has 23. Together the PCI, PSI, and PSIUP thus have 285 seats - 20 more than the DC's, and only 31 short of a majority.

Italian Liberal Party (PLI): This is a small group which is "liberal" in the continental European tradition like the Radical Socialists of France and the Free Democratic Party of West Germany. It is free-enterprise in economics, and anti-clerical in politics; its members are sometimes called "Priest-eaters". It is about as far Right as one can go in Italian politics without getting tainted by remnants of the Mussolini era. It has 31 seats.

Italian Republican Party (PRI): The PRI gets its name from the days

of the monarchy, when it urged a Republican form of government. It has 9 seats. For the first three Parliaments of the republic, the PRI and PLI when added to the huge DC bloc formed a majority of the Chamber of Deputies, and the governing coalition was based on this fact. But the present (5th) Chamber of Deputies and its predecessor dropped this bloc to a minority, and forced it to seek alliance with various Socialist groups. At present the DC's, PLI, and PRI together fall 11 votes short of a majority. Moreover, the DC-Left is getting restive about cooperation with the PLI.

Italian Democratic Party of Monarchist Unity (PDIUM): This is a group of conservatives nostalgic for the days of the House of Savoy. Their principal strength is in the conservative, agrarian South. Their pet pretender is ex-King Umberto II, who was voted out in a referendum in 1947 and has since been living in Portugal. They have 6 seats.

Italian Social Movement (MSI): This is Mussolini's old Fascist Party, scrubbed up to be made presentable in the post-war world. They have 24 seats. Like the PDIUM, they have financial backing and noise-making power far beyond their numbers. Recently, as part of the stresses leading up to the civil war, they have gone back into the streets with black-shirted goon squads just as they did in the 1920's. (New York Times, 28 January 1971) Their leader, Giorgio Almirante, has a picture of Mussolini wearing a steel helmet in his office.

There are also 10 seats held by independents. Unrepresented in the Parliament, but a force in the streets, are the Maoists of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) (PCI-ML). These groups give the PCI a chance to pose as a respectable and responsible group by comparison, but Almirante claims that the Communists are secretly in command of all these groups. Opposite the PCI-ML is New Order (NO), a formerly independent far right group which is now back in the MSI's fold. The MSI claims a membership of 400,000, and has a labor branch which specializes in strikebreaking. NO has about 2,000 people.

The present Chamber of Deputies was elected in May 1968, and thus has two more years to run. With its alignment of parties, government is a matter of continual overt or covert cabinet crisis. The natural solution - dissolving Parliament and going to the country for new elections - has been put off by the DC's out of fear that the new Chamber of Deputies will be substantially to the left of the present one.

There is a real possibility of this. Taxes have risen, the lira may have to be further devaluated (it is now 630 to the dollar!), strikes are common, and NATO membership, the keystone of DC foreign policy, is less and less defensible as the American invasion of Vietnam goes on. The present cabinet, 33rd since the war, is an uneasy catch-all of the DC's, PRI, PSI, and PSIUP; the last group could take a walk any day.

Needless to say, the Right, which never really accepted either the secular monarchy or the republic, is unhappy about this. In April 1967 a thundering scandal broke about a right-wing military plot to take over the government. Prominent Socialists and Communists were to be rounded up; the Italian equivalent of the FBI had files that were to be used in this coup. In the following January and February Parliament took cognizance of this plan, perhaps stimulated by Greek Fascist coup of the previous spring. Though the PCI, the PSI, and the PSIUP demanded a government investigation the cabinet refused; the PSI later withdrew its demand to keep peace in the coalition. The reporter who broke the story was jailed for libel. In an example of back-patting which is not unfamiliar to Americans, the cabinet told the armed forces to investigate themselves. The armed forces presently produced a complete whitewash job. The lists of names were a "normal security precaution".

It will be recalled that the Greek coup took place on the eve of scheduled elections which allegedly would have produced a pro-Communist

government. (The coups that installed the present Indonesian and Brazilian governments had the same excuse.) The inexorable approach of Italian elections, which cannot now be more than two years away and may at the government's discretion be sooner, will bring a comparable situation to a head in Italy. And for the sort of person who believes in International Communistic Conspiracies there seems to be reason for it. Russia is making itself a Mediterranean naval power for the first time since the days of Admiral Ushakov. The monarchist General Giovanni di Lorenzo and the neo-Fascist Admiral Gino Birindelli have made noises that sound like a willingness to "go to the other side of the barricade". (New York Times, 24 May 1970)

More significantly, Italy's new regional governments point out a pattern of a leftist coalition that worries rightists. Recently Italy was divided into 15 regions, an intermediate level of government between the national and local levels. As a result, Emilia-Romagna now has a PCI government, and Tuscany and Umbria are ruled by Communist-Socialist coalition. This happened while the Socialists are still part of the DC-led government coalition in Rome. Some hope, and others fear, that this will be the Shape of Things to Come after the next parliamentary elections.

Among the people who fear is, of course, National Review. In the issue of 7 April 1970, J. D. Futch quavers about "1922 All Over Again?", in a reference to Mussolini's scenario for taking over. Futch says that the whole thing started when a post-war DC premier failed to outlaw the PCI, and concludes by hoping that "the Italians will be as fortunate as the Greeks in 1967". Like most conservatives, Futch is far more concerned about the Maoist froth than about the impressive electoral statistics of the PCI. He places his chief hopes first in a military coup, and second in the chronic inability of the Italian Left to agree on anything. But the prospects of power have a calming effect on ideologues, and C. L. Sulzberger speculates in the New York Times of 22 November 1970 about the "Chileanization" of Italy.

So everything is shaping up. The next national elections could put into the Chamber of Deputies a majority coalition consisting of the PCI, the PSI, the PSIUP, and the DC-Left. Because of this, or to forestall it, the armed forces backed by the MSI and the PDIAUM try to take over.

But it won't be another Greece. Italy has large, strong, popularly backed Communist and Socialist Parties, and in this eventuality they would be joined by many DC people with vivid memories of Italy's last Fascist government. The putschists would have backing in the South and Sicily, but the big industrial centers of the North and the "Red Belt" would resist them. The Right would have tradition, power, money, and important segments of the church; the Left would have numbers, constitutional legitimacy, and better organization through the parties and trade unions. It could be a long, drawn-out, bloody struggle.

And the U. S. reaction? It is gospel among American conservatives that any coalition government that includes Communists is, or will soon be, a Communist government. Furthermore, if Italy pulls out of NATO - which would be the first foreign policy move of a leftist United Front cabinet - it would put U. S. Mediterranean policy in a serious bind. At present the only Mediterranean ports open to U. S. warships are those of Spain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. France is for all practical purposes out of NATO, and the U. S. is not yet ready to open the can of worms which would result from a formal military alliance with Israel. Furthermore, Spain and Greece are military dictatorships which, if they fall, would be succeeded by governments highly resentful of the heavy U. S. financial support received by Franco and Pappadopoulos.

Possibly to prevent this eventuality, the U. S. has plans for moving troops from Germany into northern Italy to meet the Communist strength there. A document containing such recommendations was precipitated into

Italian polities last June by Riccardo Lombardi of the PSIUP. NATO officials have called it a forgery, but it would not be the first time. U. S. troops have been committed for such purposes. When the present military dictatorship seized power in Brazil in 1964, the U. S. Sixth Fleet was ordered out to sea in case its help was needed. As it turned out, it wasn't.

The reaction of the large Italian-American community would be strong. Most Americans of Italian ancestry are descended from South Italian peasants - precisely the people who will fill rightist ranks when the civil war comes. Italian-Americans are more to the Right politically, and much more clericalist, than their kinfolk in the "old country". In New York City, where they constitute the largest single ethnic bloc, Italian names dominate every organization pledged to "Victory in Vietnam". When the outbreak comes, hundreds of thousands of Italian-Americans will deluge Washington with demands for armed American intervention, or failing that permission to go enlist with the putschists.

And beyond the concern of Italian-Americans would be the concern of America's Roman Catholics. Although the Church of Rome has come to working agreements with the governments of several Communist states, the Italian Civil War would be represented in this country as a deadly danger to the ancient seat of the church. American Catholics who have looked with a jaundiced eye on the Johannine reforms will blame every change in church policy since the death of Pius XII on Communist influence in Italy. Some conservative Catholics in Italy, the Arab countries, and the United States might even split off and elect an anti-Pope when St. Peter's Chair next becomes vacant. This would add a religious aspect to the already complicated Italian situation.

We are fortunate that this crisis comes now, rather than 5 years ago. In 1966 the United States might have been able to send a large armed force to back up the Italian Right. However, domestic pressures resulting from the Vietnam fiasco now make this less likely. The most dedicated Vietnam Hawk would hesitate about getting the U. S. involved in another such mess. The late Senator Richard Russell, who was hot for "victory" in Vietnam, once severely scolded the Johnson administration for sending planes to get some Americans out of a Congolese mess. He demanded, and got, solid assurances from the administration that no American troops were going to be sent to Africa. (Of course, the Senator may simply have been worried about the prospect of war brides.)

Yet the stakes are much higher, and the pressures greater, in Italy. Even if the revolt occurs before the elections and is thus directed against a DC-led government, the Left would be represented here as operating directly under Moscow's orders, and the rebels of the Right would be portrayed as the saviours of Christian civilization. The network of American military alliances, the pressures of Italian-American groups, and the fear for the safety of the Pope would all argue for American intervention. The peace movement would have to work fast, even with the present national revulsion against more Vietnams, to counteract this. "Italy is different" would be a believable slogan to many people now firmly committed to an American withdrawal from Vietnam.

The MSI is pro-Israel and anti-Arab in its foreign policy views; anti-Semitism never caught on in Mussolini's Italy. A united call by the Italian and Jewish voting blocs in this country is quite likely, since many American Jews back Israel in language easily adaptable to Italy by their Italian-American neighbors.

Another problem that the American peace movement might face is the closing of Canada. At present, tens of thousands of Americans have gone to Canada to avoid conscription. They find their most hospitable welcome in Quebec, whose French-speaking people have always been opposed to the military draft. It was Quebecois opposition that kept Canada from enacting

conscription in World War I; it was Quebec that provided that only volunteers for overseas duty could be sent out of the country in World War II; and it is Quebec now that makes Canada one of the few countries without a military draft. But the Quebecois are also Roman Catholics, and strongly clericalist. They take in Americans who are refusing to go fight in Asia for reasons no one seems capable of explaining. They might not be so hospitable to Americans who refuse to liberate the Holy Father from a now Babylonian Captivity.

Other countries would also be affected. There are sizable minorities of Italian ancestry in France, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Australia, and many Latin American countries. The alleged threat to the Vatican will concern Catholics all over the world. Italy's neighbors would fish in the troubled waters; Austria has old claims against northeastern Italy, Yugoslavia is uneasy about Trieste, Albania has old scores to settle (and many Chinese who might want to help settle them), and the Sicilian independence movement may be heard from again. Unless one side of the civil war quickly overcomes the other, the biggest world crisis since 1945 may well be in the making.

#### THE DIPLOMATIC POUCH (continued from p. 25)

On the other hand, in cases of type II, such as:

ENGLAND: F Lon-North Sea; F North Sea-Den.

GERMANY: F Den holds; F Hol S ENGLISH F Lon-North Sea.  
the support order does not hold because to uphold it would dislodge the English fleet, and thus the English would dislodge their own unit!

I contend then, that the phrase 'move against' means only to attack an occupied province, not to contest another unit over an unoccupied province. I think therefore that the support order in the above example of type I should stand, and that you should change your ruling on the Reinhardt Gambit Countermove.

#### THE MINISTRY OF MISCELLANY (continued from p. 3)

101-104, 106, 108-114, 117-123, 127-129, 131, 132, 136-141, 143, 147, 148, 150, 155, 166, 167, 170, 171, 174, 183, 191, 193, 195-213, 215-230.

There are currently no new entries available in GRAUSTARK games.

In addition to the reports and adjudications of moves in the 7 postal Diplomacy games currently carried in GRAUSTARK, readers get the following items:

1. Press releases, sent in by players with their moves. These releases are often imaginatively written, citing people actually in control of the European powers during World War I. Sometimes, however, all the lids come off, and press releases ramify all over the place - frequently promoting their composers' own ideas.

2. Comments on the strategy and tactics of Diplomacy and other board games.

3. Letters discussing interpretations of Diplomacy rules, both in the across-the-board game and as Diplomacy is modified for postal play.

4. Comments on real history, including current events.

5. "The Ministry of Miscellany", a column dedicated to providing evidence for the fact that the missing link between the ape and civilized man is us.

6. Satire: currently a series entitled "History of the Four And A Half Kingdoms". Readers learn about such little-known nations of the Balkan Massif as the Temporary Roman Empire, the Kingdom of Skandalut, the Grand Duchy of Wogastisburg-Schläppenbüttel, the Pravoslavian Patrimony of Polykarp, and the Pundschedruk Peoples' Republic.

7. Prophecy - who tries it, what it's based on, and how well, or ill, it comes off.

This publication is not edited under the supervision of Bangs Leslie Tapscott.